New South

- **Future of Private Schools**
  Mary Ellen Goodman
- **The Legislature and the Professor**
- **This I Believe**
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- **Highlights from Recent Literature**

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New South Notes

Prince Edward County, Virginia, has the dubious distinction of being the only locality in the United States without public schools. White children in the county now attend classes in a private school, financed partly for the first time this year, through state and local tuition grants. Negroes in the county are near the end of the second year without schools.

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman of Houston, Texas, recently conducted a study of Virginia's new private schools which have sprung up as a result of desegregation of public schools. Her analysis of the "Future of the Private Schools" deals principally with Prince Edward County, for it is there that Virginia's "Freedom of Choice" has been abandoned for private education alone. In this issue of *New South*, we present that portion of her study.

Mrs. Goodman is a widely recognized authority on racial relations and problems of youth. Her doctoral dissertation at Harvard was written on the topic, "Genesis of Race Awareness," and she is the author of *Race Awareness in Young Children.*

Dr. Haywood N. Hill, an Atlanta physician and elder in Trinity Presbyterian Church, recently presented a talk, "This I Believe," to the adult Sunday school class he teaches. Dr. Hill's talk has had wide appeal and is reprinted here for *New South* readers. Reprints are available from the Southern Regional Council.

New South also presents another of its frequent features, "Highlights from Recent Literature."

Future of Private Schools*

By
Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
Conference Studies
Coordinator
of
1960 White House Conference
on
Children and Youth

"The uproar is quieting and they're settling down to run a good school—." This capsule observation on the present and hopeful prediction for the future seems as appropriate to Front Royal and Norfolk as to Charlottesville, Virginia (about which it was made). For Prince Edward the story is of course different; the "uproar" will not be over until after keys are turned, and doors thrown open in those public school buildings which now stand forsaken, with blinds drawn, in their weed-choked yards.

"The Prince Edward Story—" (told in pamphlet form by the *Farmville Herald* in late 1959) has not yet reached its crucial chapter. An uncertain equilibrium prevails in the County, while people wait for something to happen, something to upset the precarious balance.

Foundation leaders declare that "private education is here to stay whether the public schools open on an integrated basis or not." And, they add, "there will always be private [segregated] schools available to *all*—regardless of economic status." The Foundation's legal counsel admits that there is now "no other way segregated schools can be maintained except by operating private schools for whites." He predicts, however, that though public schools might become legally integrated, "you are not going to have an integrated system here factually. You might have a legally integrated system attended only by Negroes."

Complaints concerning non-operation of public schools are now pending before a U. S. District Court. Should the resulting judgments require re-opening, this already overdue event might still be delayed until the Fall of 1961. When public schools do re-open, a sizable proportion of the white children may stay in Foundation schools.

**Taken from Special Report on Private Schools prepared for Southern Regional Council.*

Private Schools

(Continued)

The crucial question is: how *large* will that proportion be? In view of past events, it is to be expected that every effort will be made by Foundation leaders to maintain absolute solidarity among whites, and to discourage return to public schools by so much as a single white child. While it seems unlikely that such complete conformity can be achieved, an episode of intense—even if largely covert—struggle may be building up.

By Autumn, 1961, or earlier, the Foundation may be operating its high school in permanent quarters. Permanent quarters for an elementary school in Farmville, and several more in the county, are also planned. It had been hoped that public school buildings and facilities could be purchased. That hope was frustrated by the former school board. The present board is unlikely to move now that federal court action on the property disposal question is pending.

The old school board resigned in April, 1960. When it did, it released a 14-page statement. The excerpt from it which follows is long, but it states well and authoritatively some of the causes for concern about a Prince Edward type operation:

> In its decisions the School Board has been guided by the fundamental belief that education must be provided for *all* the school age children of the entire County. Anything short of this we regard as contrary to the best interests of all of us in the long run. We know that educated citizens are absolutely essential to the very existence of democracy in local affairs as well as in state and national ones. If a community leaves uneducated any large portion of its citizens, because they cannot afford its cost, or for any other reason, it inevitably creates for itself enormous problems in welfare, delinquency, crime and unemployment. It means numbers of illiterate laborers who are difficult to absorb in the labor force. Today business and industry are demanding a higher level of training of its employees than ever before.
>
> We are aware that the Prince Edward Foundation has obtained contributions from those who have school age children and those who do not. No white child was denied admission to the Foundation's schools for the session 1959-60 because his parents could not make a contribution or because they could afford only a small gift. For this we stand grateful. Yet the people of Prince Edward County must face the question whether this method of voluntary support of schools can be depended upon—year in and year out—through good times and bad to pay the cost of education for all. Education must meet standards of quality over a period of many years and be conducted by teachers and administrators of dedicated purpose and training if it is to continue to be effective to meet the needs of our people.
>
> Unless some new system of education for all can take over the whole job of the public schools and have its cost guaranteed in a reasonable manner, we fear the economic consequences to the County. This year, for example, when the people of the County

have paid all of the cost of education in the County, we have seen at least a half million dollars not come into the economic life of the County which did come in earlier years. We refer specifically here to two items. In the past we have received approximately $400,000 from the State for operation of public schools. Also in the past the large taxpaying corporations in the County have paid approximately $100,000 in local taxes. This year, this money did not come to the County in any form.

If by Fall of 1961 the malady of Prince Edward is past its crisis and the "uproar is quieting—," then perhaps both county and Foundation will "settle down to run good schools." It will be high time, after two long years of one of the strangest aberrations in the history of American public education, and two years of almost non-existent education for one-half of the County's children.

Social Differences

A Prince Edward segregationist observes that "the poor whites might send their children to the public schools." And, he adds, this would be a return to the kind of class differentiation familiar in pre-public school days, when "poor whites" did not send their children to school at all.

If only the "poor whites" and the Negroes attended public schools, and if school taxes and appropriations were controlled (as in Prince Edward in the past) by a white elite become indifferent or hostile to public education, then low-quality public schools might be expected. This is a possibility in the future of Prince Edward County; it is not a likely development in the other three communities.

Realism

Just discernible trends in these other communities suggest a quite different course. The "elite" shows a tendency to gravitate back to the public schools or to conventional private schools. Just as they abandoned the massive resistance posture without much creaking and groaning so they seem now in process of abandoning—in *act* if not in word—the movement associated with "freedom of choice." They show a flexibility markedly more developed than is common among the "best people" of Prince Edward or, indeed, among many people in their own communities.

"It is a matter of realism," says one community leader, explaining how his own course differs from that of a friend prominent in the Foundation movement. "I suppose I'm just as much a segregationist as he is, but I'm a realist. Things have changed—we *have* integration now. Several more counties have been integrated even this Fall, and one of these days only Southside Virginia will be left. Once you have integration, you can't go back. It's too late to go back."

Except in Prince Edward the "realists" have swung the balance of power. In the other communities it has perhaps been easier for them to speak out.

The future of the Foundation school movement will be seriously affected by the extent to which "realism" develops in a community. It is not the "realists" who give to the Foundation movement a passionate "all or nothing" devotion and support. And such support it must have in order to meet the extraordinary tasks of organization and financing involved

Private Schools

(Continued)

in creating new private schools, operating them, and building them into sound educational institutions. The schools are in fact, as their ardent supporters point out, the results of intense effort, dedication, and even sacrifice. No large proportion of the citizens in any of the four communities has participated whole-heartedly in this effort, and the proportion willing and able to carry on the struggle indefinitely is even smaller.

Time quenches the fires of indignation while the achievement of integration without catastrophe teaches its own lesson. Intransigence melts away and increasing numbers of people find themselves on a middle ground — perhaps still opposed to integration in principle, but no longer caring enough to fling themselves and their children on the altar of a lost cause.

The Legislature and the Professor

Norfolk, Va., Pilot

December 22, 1960

When a professor at Louisiana State University characterized the activities of the Louisiana legislature in connection with the integration of New Orleans schools as "a disgrace and a national scandal," the legislators reacted with the suggestion that their Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities ought to look into things at the university.

Apparently the probe is based on the old principle that anyone—and especially a college professor — who criticizes the collective legislative wisdom is suspect in his thinking and un-American.

The committee chairman emphasized that the investigation would be responsible, and not a witch hunt. "Our committee is not made up of witch hunters," he said, "but of sensible, intelligent, dedicated men. Our task is to search for subversive elements, whether at LSU or anywhere else."

The task to which "sensible, intelligent, dedicated" men in Louisiana, and throughout the North and South, might more properly address themselves is meeting the problems of race rationally. There are always those who will fan the flames of tension into ugly violence.

The intemperance in the Louisiana legislature and the mobs in New Orleans are "a disgrace and a national scandal." There is a need for Professor Waldo McNeir and others to openly say so. If there are those who are un-American, in the deepest sense of fair play and our traditional values, it is those who keep silent when children are cursed and their mothers spat upon, when churches and synagogues are desecrated, when schools are dynamited or shut down, when laws are travestied, whenever decency is outraged.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

THIS I BELIEVE

by

HAYWOOD N. HILL, M.D.

I AM A SOUTHERNER. I was bred in the South where my forefathers were slave holders and Confederate soldiers. I was born and raised in Southern towns with their rigid racial patterns and their typical Southern prejudice. I was away from the South for a few years, but I returned to live in the South by choice and intend to remain here for the rest of my life. I love the South and its people.

I like to have two black arms in my kitchen and two black legs pushing my lawn mower, to help take the drudgery out of living for myself and my family, and I like having them at a very minimum of cost to me.

I like choosing my own friends and associates, and I like eating in pleasant places with well bred people of my own race, class, and status.

A message given before an adult church school class at Trinity Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, on January 1, 1961. Dr. Hill is teacher of the class and an elder of the church.

I like to worship in a church which is composed of my friends and equals where I will be among my own group, racially, socially, and intellectually.

I like for my children to go to school with their own kind and with other children of their own racial, social, and intellectual level. I like for them to be shielded against poverty, ignorance, dirt, and disease.

I like to practice medicine among intelligent, cooperative people who understand what I am trying to do for them, who are friends as well as patients, and who pay their bills.

I like to live in a neighborhood composed of people of my own group who have pleasant, well kept homes, and where there is no conflict or strife.

I do not want my daughter to marry a Negro.

I like the racial status quo. I am a Southerner.

But, I am also a Christian. As a Christian I must believe that God created all men and that all men are equal in the sight of God. I must believe that all men are my brothers and are children of God, and that I am my brother's keeper. I must believe that Jesus meant what He said when He commanded me to love my neighbor as myself and when He commanded me to do unto others as I would have them do unto me. I must believe that the church is God's house and that it does not belong to me, to the congregation of Trinity Presbyterian Church, or to the Southern Presbyterian Church. I must believe in the fellowship of all believers.

I am also a scientist and have devoted my life to the pursuit of objective truth. Therefore, I must know that while there are individual differences among people that there is no such thing as racial inferiority. I must know that within every group there are individuals with different potentialities, and that I cannot arbitrarily classify anyone on the basis of his race or color. I must know that poverty and ignorance and isolation, call it segregation if you will, breed feelings of inferiority, frustration, resentment, and despair and that these feelings in turn lead to misery, to immorality, and to crime which, in turn, not only depress the people and the communities involved but the community as a whole and the whole country.

Therefore, as a Christian and as a scientist I am obligated to act on the basis of what I know and what I believe and not on the basis of what I like. I must live by conviction and by conscience rather than by preference and by prejudice.

I must, therefore, regard every man, rich or poor, black or white, as a child of God and as a person, not as some kind of subhuman being or animal or even as an inferior. I must try to see to it that every individual gets equal rights under the law and in politics. This applies particularly to the right of equal justice in the courts and to the right of the exercise of political privilege; that is, the right to vote. If I fear the effects of bloc voting and voting from ignorance, then I must try to see to it that every man is educated to the point where he votes intelligently.

I am obligated to pay a living wage to every man who works for me and to do my best to see that others do the same. I must accord to every man the right to rise to the limit of his abilities in any job or profession, and I must make every attempt to see that no man is blocked because of his race or his social status. If any individual of any race rises to a position equal to mine, then I must accord to him the same privileges that I have and welcome him as an equal.

I must see to it that everyone has an opportunity for an education as good as my own children have. If this means, as the social scientists, the courts, and the Negroes themselves believe, that that education must be the same education as my children have, then I must accept it and encourage it.

I must try to see to it that no man be humiliated and rejected because of his color. If this means that the Negro eats where I eat, sits next to me in the theatre, or rides next to me in public transportation, then I am obligated to accept it.

I must see to it that every man has an opportunity for a decent home and decent surroundings, and if this means that he will live in my neighborhood or in the house next to mine, then that is the way it must be.

If a Negro wants to worship in my church or join my church, then I am obligated to see to it that he is not only accepted but welcomed into that church, even if it be Trinity Presbyterian Church. I must not be led by false pride to try to judge his motives for coming into that church, and I must welcome him on the same basis that I would welcome any other individual.

I must try to overlook the selfish politicians who use the Negro for their own ends; the Communist agitators who delight in stirring up racial strife; the noisy, aggressive Negro who abuses his privileges and who makes life unpleasant for me; and even the Negroes who exploit their own race. I must ignore such irrelevant questions as which race settled this country, which

race pays the most taxes, etc., and remember the basic principles on which I am trying to act and in which I believe.

I must not only accept the efforts of the Negro to achieve his legitimate aspirations, but I must try to help him achieve them, and I believe that the church must do the same if it is a truly Christian church. I must do this, even though it goes against my deepest prejudices and even though it threatens my superior and isolated position in the community and even though it entails the risk of intermarriage.

Basically, the problem is not one of what I like but of what I know to be right. I must not let my wishes determine my attitude toward my associates, my school, my church, or even my own family, but if I am true to the principles which I profess, then I must act according to those principles. This, I believe.

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

* * *

Bushnell, Paul E. "Passive Insistence—Its Principles and Procedures, Its Promise and Its Peril." *Chapel and College*, Fall, 1960. pp. 4-22. Available from Office of the Resident Chaplain, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York. 35¢.

Mr. Bushnell, an observer and participant in the sit-in movement (" . . . I cannot be certain that I shall faithfully portray the inner motivation of the movement since I am not a Negro. What I have to say on this subject depends upon what I have heard, sensed, and experienced myself during short periods of time when my association with colored students has exposed me to equal treatment") with a personal grounding in Christian non-violence and experience in the sit-in movement "in a locality in which a large measure of thought has been devoted specifically to the Christian understanding of non-violence," examines the movement in an article so filled with thought and insight as to be singularly unsuitable for the "Highlights" method. From the final section, however, in which certain dangers and problems are discussed, these observations, which we reproduce in the most fragmentary form, seem particularly thought-provoking:

"The most serious threat to the cause of Christian non-violence is the danger of self-righteous insistence. . . . Spiritually (there is presented) the constant temptation to abandon humiliation and the appearance of defeat for the sake of grasping your own victory and transferring humiliation forcibly to the evil-doer. . . ."

"A second danger to the movement is that it will interpret non-violence too narrowly, as 'not hitting back,' for example. . . . The non-violent movement has to be sensitive to its side-effects in the community and to bear some responsibility. . . ."

"Another danger . . . is that the non-violent movement may by a measure of success tempt other social groups or movements to use it for their ends. . . ."

"It is not inconceivable that a successful movement might also expose itself to the danger that if it forges too far ahead of what the public can sustain, it may eventually lose ground. This may serve as a warning that it ought not to neglect its educational functions. . . ."

"There is an additional danger for the movement in the fact that it has exposed a whole range of problems within American society, some of which might thwart the movement in some places or consume its energies and confuse its focus. . . ."

* * *

"Legal Aspects of the Sit-In Movement," Reference, *Race Relations*

Highlights

(Continued)

***Law Reporter*, Vol. 5, No. 3, Fall, 1960. pp. 935-947.**

From Section V., "Summary of Present State of Law":

"At common law an innkeeper was . . . under a duty to receive all persons who properly applied and were willing and able to pay reasonable compensation for available accommodations. . . . This common law duty has been confined to hotels and places with lodgings; restaurants have been entirely excluded from the duty. . . .

"Sit-in participants can find one decision lending some support to a right to be served. *Marsh v. Alabama*, 326 U. S. 501 (1946), does contain some dicta to the effect that the operator of a privately owned business becomes bound by the statutory and constitutional rights to the extent that he invites the general public as customers for his private gain. . . . At best, *(Marsh)* might be applicable to stores inviting Negroes into all sections but eating facilities. . . .

"It is clear that the Fourteenth Amendment has no operation on purely private discrimination. . . . The action prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment is that of the states. . . .

"Another possible defense to sit-in prosecutions arises where the eating facility is connected with a terminal of an interstate carrier. *Morgan v. Virginia*, 328 U. S. 373 (1946), tells us that the commerce clause forbids racial segregation by public carriers engaged in interstate commerce. Where the eating facility is merely in a carrier terminal, the law is not so clear. . . *Boynton v. Commonwealth, supra,* presents a factual situation squarely raising the issue of undue burden on interstate commerce by such discrimination. The Virginia court did not refer to the issue. (The Supreme Court has since ruled that discrimination of interstate passengers in bus terminal restaurants is illegal.)"

* * *

Record, Wilson and Record, Jane Cassels. "Little Rock, U.S.A." Materials for Analysis. Paper back. Chandler Publishing Company, Inc., 660 Market Street, San Francisco 4, California. 338 pp., $2.25.

A collection of materials selected and assembled by the editor-collectors with a concern "not so much with what happened as with why it happened, what it signifies, and what its consequences will be." The school crisis at Little Rock was, in their opinion, "the most important single occurrence in the region during the 1950's." The materials here presented begin with the Supreme Court's decisions of 1954-1955 and come forward through the opening of Central High School in 1959. They are designed to provide "a wide-lens view of the Little Rock drama in its various dimensions—political, judicial, economic, ideological, psychological, sociological, religious, moral."

The readings are arranged in two sections: the first "designed to tell the story chronologically, from newspaper accounts, court records, and other documents . . . the second section contains interpretive material, a spectrum of critical comment and opinion. . . . "

Instructions for documenting research papers, as well as suggestions for research topics, are provided for novice researchers.

Does This Ring a Bell?

From
Norfolk
Journal and Guide

The current issue of *Southern School News,* organ of the Southern Education Reporting Service, reports that of the young white men and women who have graduated from the four Mississippi state colleges during the five-year period from 1952 to 1956, 33 percent of them left the state to find careers elsewhere.

In reverse of a long standing situation, only 5 percent of Negroes graduating from the three colleges provided for them went out of the state for employment.

The lesson we draw from a state losing 3,196 white graduates out of a total of 9,723, is that a state that is run politically, socially, and economically in the Mississippi pattern, cannot hold educated white people in these modern times.

Our speculation on the low percentage of Negro graduates leaving the state is that most of them remained to teach in the Mississippi schools. The heavy migration of Negroes from Mississippi during the last two decades has been sparsely educated laborers from the farms, sawmills and such manual labor as the small industries in Mississippi afford.

While the population of Mississippi is divided about equally between the white and Negro races, there were 3,196 white graduates and 1,714 Negro graduates. A university and three state colleges for whites, and only three state colleges for Negroes may account for the difference in number of graduates by race.

The Mississippi migration of educated young white people reflects a condition that exists in all of the southern states, although Mississippi, percentagewise, may lead in this respect.

The result is that the states are being drained of their people of leadership calibre. No greater proof of this is that the state, through Gov. Ross Barnett, an arch segregationist, appropriated $20,000 to the White Citizens Council for whatever uses the Councils cared to make of the money. Everyone knows the program of the White Citizens Councils.

Such action has its impact upon the minds of the educated young white people and they demonstrate their feelings by getting out of Mississippi as fast as they can. More speed to them.

The Constitution and Sumter

From
The Charlotte Observer
February 18, 1961

The authorities in Sumter, S. C., may not be aware of it, but they have been guilty of flagrant violations of basic constitutional rights in recent days.

They have thrown up police lines and blocked Negro college students from even leaving their campus to peacefully demonstate for the privilege of sitting at a lunch counter. They have made arrests for "breach of the peace" when no peace was breached.

In doing so, they have made a mockery of the constitutional guarantees of the right to assemble peaceably and to petition for redress of grievances.

There is nothing illegal in a peaceful march by college students with a cause. The students of Morris College in Sumter have as much right to demonstrate as the American Legion has the right to parade on November 11 or the Daughters of the Confederacy to parade on Lee's birthday.

It is up to police departments to protect that right, even when ancient traditions and the status quo are involved. Those who interfere with peaceful demonstrations are the ones who break the peace; they are the ones who need police attention.

Constitutional rights are apt to be trampled upon when the cause is unpopular. That has always been true in the United States and it is, unfortunately, still true today.

The Sumter police have supplied one of the most shocking examples of recent years. Their action can only increase tensions and give the students two immediate causes instead of one.

The police at Rock Hill, S. C., have acted commendably in the recent episodes there. They have maintained public order, but they have also maintained a strict neutrality between the opposing elements. They have kept the peace, but they have not done it at the expense of tearing the Constitution into scraps.

The police and the city officials of Sumter might well take a lesson from their neighbors.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"In view of our reiterated injunction expressly prohibiting the Legislature, the governor, the attorney general and other state officials from interfering in any way with the administration of the public schools of Orleans parish by the Orleans parish school board, it is difficult to understand these recent actions which so plainly violate the orders of the court. Certainly, Louisiana's legislators cannot seriously have expected us to condone new devices for re-establishing an unjust racial discrimination which the highest court in the land has repeatedly condemned as unconstitutional."

Federal Judges Richard T. Rives,
Herbert W. Christenberry,
J. Skelly Wright
Quoted in *Times-Picayune*
March 4, 1961

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"We are not going to forget, as we move into the challenging and demanding years ahead, that no group of our citizens can be denied the right to participate in the opportunities of first-class citizenship. Let us extend North Carolina's well-known spirit on moderation and good will, of mutual respect and understanding, in order that our energies and our resources, our abilities and our wills, may be directed toward building a better and more fruitful life for all the people of our State."

Governor Terry Sanford
of North Carolina
from his Inaugural address

"Mr. [Herman D.] Frank says that Negroes in Front Royal will continue to press for full freedom—the chance to compete on the basis of ability and qualifications and not be held back by race. When that happens, Front Royal will approach Utopia in the race relations field."

Elsie Carper
in "Virginia Affairs"
Washington Post and Times Herald
January 15, 1961

• • •

"Rep. David Newton of Colquitt County is one of the fairest and soundest men in the House [of Georgia]. That is why we are especially disappointed to see him sponsor a resolution aimed at barring the press from covering some desegregation news. Does he wish to blind the people to events occurring on their campuses?"

From an editorial
in the *Atlanta Constitution*

• • •

" . . . Will not the easy availability of up to $275 per student in pupil tuition grants encourage the establishment and support of schools of low standards, producing youngsters who will not only be educationally deprived but who might encounter severe difficulty in seeking to attend colleges, admission to which is becoming more and more selective."

Virginia Education Association
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*
February 6, 1961

The Changing South in Print!

Therefore, as a Christian and as a scientist, I am obligated to act on the basis of what I know and what I believe and not on the basis of what I like. I must live by conviction and by conscience rather than by preference and by prejudice—From "This I Believe," reprinted inside. Additional reprints available, single copy free, bulk rates on request.